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Just Documents

The letters of Senator Lodge which George R. Bishop has given to the public through The Tribune expose the baselessness of a charge which not a few have been deceived into accepting.

On February 23 last, just after he had called up the treaty to make a second effort for ratification, Senator Lodge wrote to Mr. Bishop:

"The treaty can be ratified whenever the majority are willing to accept the reservations which a majority of the Senate feel are absolutely necessary to safeguard the United States, and you know, of course, that it was on my motion that the treaty was again brought up for consideration. There may be some changes of wording to meet certain objections which have been made, but there can be no change of principle in any of the reservations adopted by the Senate last November. The decision rests with the majority, and what the final outcome will be no one can predict at this time."

On July 1 last, after the nomination at Chicago, Senator Lodge wrote again to Mr. Bishop:

"The passage you quote from my letter represented my position then and represents my position now. I have never changed it. The proof that I was ready to ratify the treaty is that I voted twice to ratify it with reservations. As for meeting all the charges the Democrats make, of course that is perfectly useless. One can only trust to the facts, which is what I did. Of course the reservation 'declaration' about the league in our platform does not repudiate what we have done before. It sustains the Senate in its attitude. It makes no promise for the future."

No comment is necessary, except, perhaps, to remark that thirty-four Republican Senators, including Lodge and Harding, voted to ratify, and with them voted twenty-three Democratic Senators, including Senator Underwood, the Senate's Democratic leader, but twenty-nine Democratic Senators, obeying White House orders, voted against ratification, and these, with the Republican realignments that Senator Lodge was unable to shepherd into agreement with the main body of the party, made up more than the one-third able to defeat ratification.

Who defeated the treaty? The President plus the Republican irreconcilables. There was a voting alliance to defeat between the President and this, in spite of all Senator Lodge could do, controlled more than one-third of the Senate.

Reventlow and Russia

The possibility of a Russian invasion of eastern Germany, conjured up by the success of Soviet arms in Poland, is discussed by Count Ernest Reventlow. To say that he is happy over the prospect would be, perhaps, going too far; but he makes it clear that there are advantages to Germany in a direct contact with the Soviet republic and urges negotiations with Moscow be started at once.

Reventlow does not believe that the Soviet troops would actually overrun Germany, even if they reached the frontier. The Russian leaders, he argues, are likely to discern more profit in a close economic and military cooperation with Germany as she is than in setting up in that country a Bolshevik régime, with all the contingent chaos and uncertainty. In other words, Russia can get much more out of a "bourgeois" Germany than from a Germany forcibly Bolshevized. And as Germany needs Russia, too, the logical thing for the German government is to anticipate events and take the initiative in the direction of a Russo-German alliance.

Reventlow suggests what the first undertaking of this alliance should be. The Soviet government has a large army, which must be kept busy. Nothing easier. Attack Rumania. "A great Balkan campaign would open up a splendid perspective and would throw the Entente into a

hopeless embarrassment, while Russia could derive increasing benefit from the alliance with Germany."

Of course, intimate contact with Russia would strengthen Bolshevik agitation at home—but that danger is present, anyway, argues the count, and must be taken into the bargain. The advantages of the Russian alliance make the increased risk worth while.

Europe resounds with the German official plea that only a large German army can save the West from the spread of Bolshevism. And along comes the hell-roarin' count to give away the game; to urge quite frankly that Germany should ally herself with this same Bolshevism. Skinning a fox twice is a great art, but its practice is not helped by too much publicity.

Vanished With the Sun

That heavy dew upon which the Cox boom was floated at San Francisco, in spite of all that weeping Mr. Bryan and throbbing Mr. Cummings and all the righteous cohorts of Administration job holders could do, has just about vanished. A few secret sparkles may lie concealed about Trailsend. For the ordinary citizen, voter and consumer of dampness there is not enough left to flavor a cocktail, much less assuage the honest thirst of Old Soak, Mr. Don Marquis's client and hero.

That cocksure young man, Mr. George White, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, has given the finishing touch to this iridescent dream, whispered so hopefully, sotto voce, by Mr. Cox's faithfuls at San Francisco and disseminated underground from barroom to barroom, via the brass-rail circuit. Said he of prohibition in that memorable interview which so grieved our neighbor "The Times": "I do not regard it as an issue. It is only a question of law enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment." And, further, when asked whether Governor Cox's record would not show wet tendencies, he answered bluntly, "I do not think so." Showing plainly, we gather, that while they "do not hear very much of the League of Nations out in Ohio" they hear enough of prohibition to know that even a light dew is no sort of Presidential sailing ground.

It is possible to understand why "The Times" slaps Mr. White quite sharply on the wrist for his candor, but we do not find its argument equally comprehensible. There is no call "for volunteer interpreters of the views of two men with such notable gifts of expression" as President Wilson and Governor Cox, it declares. But granting these gifts of expression, it is the sad fact that since the convention, both men, touching the league and touching liquor, have uttered nothing but silence, and Mr. White's little interview was the first ray of light tending to reveal where these two so notably expressive men stood.

Perhaps we shall know more after Mr. Cox's speech of acceptance. And again we may know less. In either event, we doubt if ever the Dayton dew is restored to that pristine freshness with which it rested upon the hills of San Francisco what time the nomination of a Democratic candidate for the Presidency still hung in the balance.

Making Progress

It seems just and fitting to congratulate "The World" and "The Times" on making distinct progress toward truth. The steps taken are short and hesitant, there is looking back over the shoulder, but noticeable is a distinct change of direction.

For some time our neighbors have been sure, absolutely sure, that Mr. Harding had repudiated, lock, stock and barrel, each and every, all and several, singly and in battalions, anything bearing the name of league. It was intimated Mr. Harding wanted to forbid schoolboys to recite Tennyson's stirring verses because they begin "Half a league," thus being 50 per cent error. Did not the San Francisco platform charge repudiation? Did not Hiram say so? Had not Woodrow arranged for a campaign predicated on repudiation?

Now robust certainty fades to a pale and weak interrogation. Lusty and confident affirmation sinks into a request for information. An "if" is introduced. If Mr. Harding has not repudiated the league, where, asks "The World," does he stand? In a similar tone speaks "The Times," which now discovers that Mr. Harding is far some kind of a league, but holds it is a ghost. The smile is scarcely happy, for if there is a ghost league wandering about, it must emanate from the body into which Mr. Wilson plunged his knife when he refused to allow ratification.

The practical abandonment of the repudiation charge is a beginning. It will doubtless be followed up before long by an admission that the only mystery relating to Mr. Harding's league position is why any one thought his attitude could be successfully misrepresented. If the attempt had been made in October, with Election Day near, some might have been gulled, but it lacked the

vitality to last from July to November.

Mr. Harding may or may not receive the Wilson league and seek for its ratification with the Lodge reservations which he is twice on record as holding are sufficiently safeguarding. His action will naturally depend on whether or not he is able to get two-thirds of the Senate to ratify on these terms. He surely will not take as his model the futile policy of President Wilson and begin by launching a row. That will be determined only in part by Republicans. The support of Democratic Senators must be secured to put any project through. It not helped the league idea to inject it into partisan politics, has roused prejudices it will be difficult to subdue.

If it is impossible to secure ratification of the covenant on the basis of the Lodge reservations Mr. Harding, as a sensible man, indicates a wish to enter in a new negotiation with our war associates. Senators of both parties, it may be predicted, will take part in this negotiation. Mr. Harding will not be satisfied merely to affix his signature to a grandiloquent document and then pin medals on himself. As a practical man he will labor to get something done. A new negotiation may be a necessity.

No one can now say what will be the exact situation in March next either with respect to the attitude of the Senate or with respect to international conditions. No one knows what can be done, or even what should be done, and as a sincere man Mr. Harding refuses to commit himself to any precise program. He is for a league substantially like the Wilson covenant plus the Lodge reservations, and this is as far as he can honestly go.

The Tribune has not been a particular admirer of Senator Harding. But long an advocate of a league of nations in which this country shall be a member, candor forces it to say that his attitude toward the league, showing as it does character and a desire to do something, is highly gratifying. He has shown the right sort of stuff by resisting pressures. He has stuck to a policy of firm common sense. The contention that his position is ambiguous is mere campaign froth.

Passing the Hat

In his efforts to limit campaign contributions to \$1,000 Chairman Hays has something bigger and better in view than to establish a safeguard against corruption and to protect candidates from being under obligation.

As a man with some experience in politics, he is aware of how little influence is exerted by the large giver, and he appreciates the sound and patriotic motives which lead rich men to subscribe. He knows that a large contributor commonly possesses an ordinance of self-denial; that he loses some of the influence he would otherwise enjoy; that the candidate and the party tend to lean backward in proving that it kept itself free. Moreover, Mr. Hays is informed as to the entirely legitimate purposes for which the large campaign fund goes. It may be taken for granted that Mr. Hays agrees with Chairman White on the point that the loud outcries of the Hearsts and the Borahs are chiefly buncombe.

But Chairman Hays wants very much to restore the interest of the Republican rank and file in the party. And he is a good enough psychologist to understand that if a person can be induced to give even a few cents to a cause it is then likely to become his own. If it were the practice to give to political parties as it is to other organizations there would be much less complaint of bossism. If a million persons could be induced to realize that a party is their party a new and purifying vitality would be introduced into politics.

Maybe Mr. Hays will not succeed. The habit of voters to assume that a few would pay the bills incurred in advocating a political cause is deep-seated and not easy to eradicate. But Mr. Hays has achieved much and his experiment has already justified itself. A passing of the hat should be the order of business of every political gathering as of every religious one.

A Matter of Sentiment

(From The Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger)

We are unable to work up any degree of sentiment over the fact that the skipper of a German bark in this port flies the imperial ensign instead of the flag of the new republic. He is doubtless brother to the man who cherishes the stein after the keg is empty and the breweries closed forever. And their idiosyncrasies are of no moment to those who care nothing for the German staff.

A Hymn of Flats

(From The Detroit News)

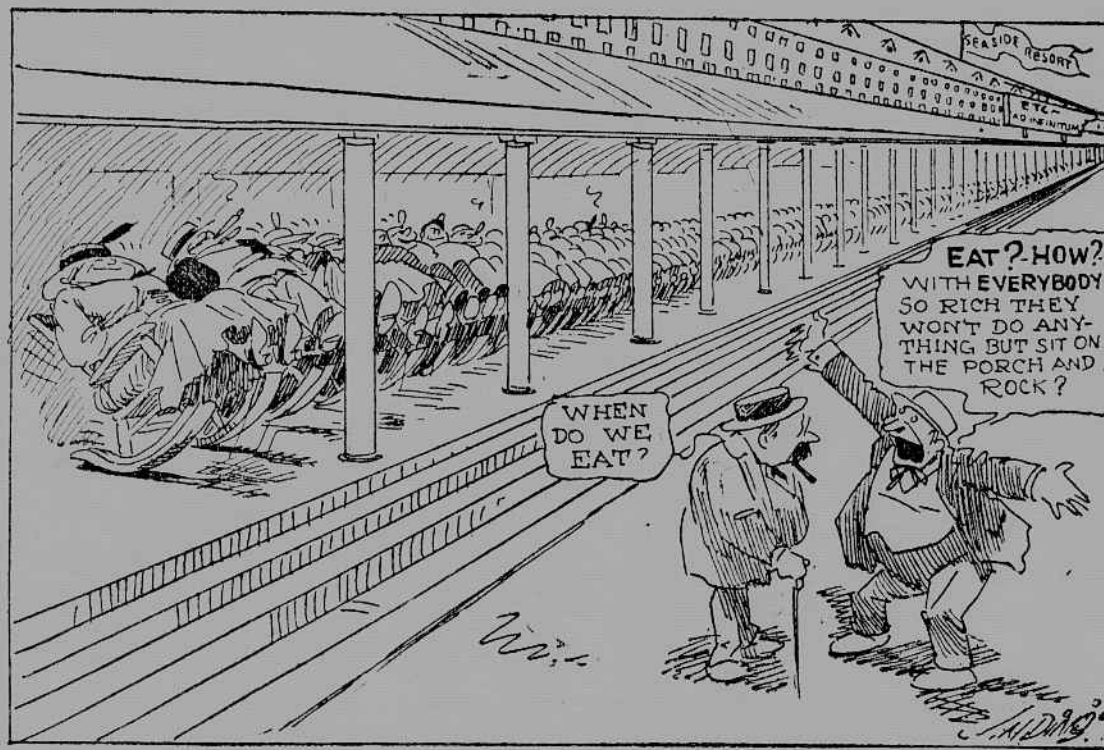
What the third party is to have in mind is to take what the Democrats have said about the Republican platform and what the Republicans have said about the Democratic platform and make a platform out of it.

PARADISE AT LAST!

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And everybody just live on the interest of our fortunes



The Labor Planks Analyzed

By A. Parker Nevin, of the New York Bar

The problem of industrial relations, as expressed by the Republican and Democratic platforms, deserves careful attention by the public as well as by all engaged in industrial pursuits. The two parties have spoken, and the voter has both the right and the duty to examine their respective declarations and determine which set of principles are the better calculated to restore stability and peace in our delicate industrial mechanism.

A casual analysis of the planks discloses that the Republican planks on industrial relations are shorter and more clearly and sharply defined. The Democratic planks are in places evasive, vague and obviously vote-catching. Both parties, however, agree on important proposals: that continuation of industrial operation be maintained; that strikes and lock-outs should be obviated, and that the principle of collective bargaining is valid. On other questions the planks diverge rather than conflict.

An analysis of the Republican planks, covering seven subjects, is as follows:

I. CONTRACT VS. PARTNERSHIP PROPOSALS

Two conceptions of industrial relations obtain: (a) contractual (b) co-partnership. The plank goes no further than this mere declaration, and need not; for centering around these succinct principles industrial opinion is frankly divided. In large part organized labor adheres to the wage scale system as a basis for its existence. It asserts its right to determine wage by fixed agreement (contract), and eyes suspiciously programs of partnership arrangements. Against this attitude is offered plans and methods whereby the worker shares in the benefits of industry on a basis not wholly contractual, but joint and co-operative. The Democratic plank is wholly silent on this important question.

II. COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

The Republican platform declares as follows:

"We recognize the justice of collective bargaining as a means of promoting good will, establishing closer and more harmonious relations between employers and employees and realizing the true ends of industrial justice."

The Democratic announcement is: "Labor, as well as capital, is entitled to adequate compensation. Each has the indefeasible right of organization, of collective bargaining and of speaking through representatives of their own selection. Neither class, however, should at any time nor in any circumstances take action that will put in jeopardy the public welfare."

The Republican statement is positive and affirmative and specifies the legitimate objects of collective bargaining.

The other platform merely announces the right of collective bargaining and expresses a limitation on such right when it "will put in jeopardy the public welfare." The latter also proclaims that both labor and capital, operating through collective bargaining, has the indefeasible right "of speaking through representatives of their own selection." This latter clause is adroitly drawn and obviously designed to attract the attention of organized labor.

In the report of the second industrial conference called by the President the following statement is made. (P. 30):

"The term 'collective bargaining' as herein used means negotiation between an employer or an association of employers on the one side and the employees, acting as a group, on the other. There are two types of collective bargaining as thus defined: one in which the employers act as a group through the trade or labor union; the other in which they act as a group through some other plan of employee representation."

An analysis of the heated controversies that are current with reference to collective bargaining indicates that the employees place the emphasis on the right of wage earners to bargain collectively, and that the employers place the emphasis on the right of employers to bargain or refuse to bargain collectively at their discretion."

It is clear that the Democratic platform handled this particular phase of collective bargaining as though it were an extremely hot baked potato. If they admitted the right of employees to select their representatives they would have denied the entire principle of collective bargaining. But they did not dare to assert that capital had a right to refuse to bargain collectively at their discretion. The Republican declaration, therefore, on this question is more sincere and consistent.

III. STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS

Both parties deplore the occurrence and recurrence of strikes and lock-outs, the language of the Republican plank being as follows:

"The strike or the lock-out, as a means of settling industrial disputes, inflicts such loss and suffering on the community as to justify government initiative to reduce its frequency and limit its consequences."

The Democratic plank states: "Resort to strikes and lock-outs, which endanger the health or lives of the people, is an unsatisfactory device for determining disputes, and the Democratic party pledges itself to contrive, if possible, and put into effective operation a fair and comprehensive method of composing differences of this nature."

Neither party advances any precise method under this particular title, except that the Republican platform justifies governmental initiative, whereas the Democratic plank indulges in a

facile phrase that it will contrive "if possible" to "compose differences of this nature." The Republican plank on this question is more straightforward and clear.

IV. STRIKES AGAINST GOVERNMENT

Both parties are happily in accord in opposing the right to strike against the government. "We deny," says the Republican platform, "the right to strike against the government, but the rights and interests of all government employees must be safeguarded by impartial laws and tribunals."

The Democratic platform declares:

"With respect to government service, we hold distinctly that the rights of the people are paramount to the right to strike."

While the language of the two planks varies it is of supreme satisfaction to all citizens to realize that the two great parties are united on this fundamental principle of public order and security.

V. PUBLIC UTILITIES

In the field of public utilities the Republican platform favors the establishment of an impartial tribunal "to make an investigation of the facts and to render a decision, to the end that there may be no organized interruption of service necessary to the lives, health and welfare of the people." Decisions from such established tribunals are morally, not legally, binding, and the Republican party makes it perfectly clear that such tribunals will not take jurisdiction of any subject matter so long as the public service is interrupted. On this vital industrial question the Democratic platform is silent, except where I have indicated in my analysis above.

VI. NO COMPULSORY ARBITRATION

In private industry the Republican platform states: "We do not advocate the principle of compulsory arbitration, but we favor impartial commissions and better facilities for voluntary mediation, conciliation and arbitration, supplemented by that full publicity which will enlist the influence of an aroused public opinion. The government should take the initiative in inviting the establishment of tribunals or commissions for the purpose of voluntary arbitration and of investigation of disputed issues."

Against this clear and unmistakable language the Democratic platform merely alleges: "We are opposed to compulsory arbitration as a method plausible in theory but a failure in fact."

But here again both parties are in accord as unadvisedly disapproving of the principle of compulsory arbitration in private industrial disputes. The soundness of these particular concurring proposals cannot, I think, be seriously questioned.

VII. CONVICT LABOR

The Republican party, under the gen-

eral head of industrial relations, further declares:

"We demand the exclusion from interstate commerce of the products of convict labor." On this important question the Democratic platform is silent.

The Case Against Suffrage

Discussed by the Antis

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: In one of your news items of Sunday, the 25th, we are very unjustly accused of circulating garbled quotations to prove certain suffrage leaders are opposed to the marriage tie.

Most of the damaging quotations from suffrage leaders are from signed articles in suffrage organs. We know the instances referred to as cases of "garbling." One was the circulation of an interview of a certain suffrage leader in a suffrage newspaper. Six months later the interview was denied altogether, and then the woman referred to wrote to the reporter that she did not object at all to quoting the interview, but only to the "garbled extracts"—when, as a matter of fact, the whole thing was given as we had found it.

Another interview was not denied until after six months, as we have proved by examination of contemporary suffrage organs—although the alleged statement was commented upon otherwise by suffragists. It was still circulated as a sample of what suffragist leaders were approaching in their atavistic march, because the precise language attributed to her by this well known correspondent was later heard from her lips in a Congressional hearing.

We trust that you will also print our reply to the statement of a suffragist that the majority of women in New York were found to be for double suffrage.

The majority of women referred to was deduced from the results of a gigantic card distribution; and although nearly every woman received more than one card, her name was counted every time as a suffragist. We know of one who received thirty, and faithfully signed each one.

In Connecticut petitions were circulated under guise of securing money to aid philanthropic enterprises, and signers were not told (in a considerable proportion of instances) that the petition was merely a plea for the vote. Some of the names found on the list were those of women long since in their graves. In West Virginia the petitions were circulated under the pretense of securing the release of prisoners in German war camps (as shown by oath in "The Charleston Daily Mail"), and the local Western Union declared that the avalanche of telegrams received by the legislators were not genuine, but were forged on a machine manufactured for the purpose. In addition to this, many lists of names alleged to urge woman suffrage have been found to include women who were active members of anti-suffrage associations.

We believe that the poll of women of Ohio, revealing nine to one against suffrage throughout the state; in Maryland, showing twenty to one, and in Wilmington, Del., with eighteen to one in the city itself, are far better indications of the sentiment of the average woman—especially since New York contains an enormous proportion of single women from other states.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE.
Washington, D. C., July 27, 1920.

Downtrodden Ireland

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Your correspondent W. T. Duncan asks that I explain to him how Ireland is downtrodden.

Ireland is downtrodden, first, because it has no political freedom. Eighty per cent of the voting population of Ireland voted for a republican form of government. England refuses to recognize their choice and uses force to suppress any attempt to form an Irish republic. This in itself is an act of disenfranchisement.

Ireland is downtrodden because it is without personal freedom. Men and women are being continually thrown into jail and even executed without the semblance of a trial by jury. Ireland is overrun by an army of occupation. Soldiers break into houses on the least pretext to hunt for supposed "suspects." The cannon and machine gun are conspicuous throughout Ireland.

Ireland is downtrodden because it is taxed without representation. Eighty per cent of Ireland is without representatives in the British Parliament; still, that 80 per cent must needs pay taxes. Shades of '76, has the world so changed that oppression is unrecognizable? Is Mr. Duncan satisfied?

There are in America three or four times as many Irish as there are in Ireland. Why did these men leave their homes in such numbers? Is it because Ireland is the land of such great "personal freedom," as Mr. Duncan claims? When a nation is bled white of its manhood in such alarming proportions something must be rotten in that country. FRANCIS XAVIER HERR.
New York, July 26, 1920.

The Hardest Task

(From The Louisville Courier-Journal)

Each candidate for the Presidency assures his constituents that if elected he will appoint a real farmer as Secretary of Agriculture. That pledge is much easier to fulfill than a promise to appoint as Secretary of State a real statesman.

He Got Off Easily

(From The Cincinnati Enquirer)

While some lost their heads and a few, perhaps, their reputations at San Francisco, J. Hamilton Lewis lost only his hat and the nomination to the Vice-Presidency. Some men are born lucky.

A Week of Verse

The Golden Cage

(From The Nation)

EARTH, sea, and sky; the proud and patient stars;
The gradual rainbow with its flags unfurled;These are but golden unrelenting bars
Upon the secret edges of the world.
We move in beauty and are touched to tears,

Wakened to wonder, and made clean with peace;

But guarded by a thousand unseen spears
Like royal captives. There is no release.The moments mutiny, the days rebel,
The passions clamor; better to be still;
Seek open spaces for a magic spell,
Kiss lips across a tender book, until
The last rains falling on the final leaves
Dissolve all dreaming and the heart that grieves.

JOSEPH L. FREEMAN.

Glencorse

(From The Poetry Review, London)

NOTE—There is a tradition among Lothian people that a village and a church lie submerged beneath the waters of Glencorse Reservoir in the Pentlands Hills, and that, by those who listen for it, the ringing of the church bell may sometimes be heard on a still day.

HERE I lie 'mid the whin and grasses
on Caslelaw;Cold are the waters below, but colder,
and deeper downAt the roots of the hills in chambers
that no man ever saw.Shrining its unguessed secret, there lies
a vanished town.The grey trout plash and play on the sand
that paves its street;
Market and cottage and kirk are green
with the drifting weed;But the bell, they say, still peals in the
crumbling steeple like sweetFaint piping of fairy lips, far away,
through a trembling reed.And I have listened and lingered under
the bleak March skies,
When through the faded heather the
winds sang sleeky and pure;But the waters were pale as a sword-blade,
and calm as a dead man's eyes;And never a sound but the curlew
screaming on Allermuir.And I have listened, day-dreaming, in
golden drowsy noons,
When the smell of honey and thyme
made a magic of summer ease;But the waters were fair as a child that
sleeps to old cradle tunes,
And never a sound but the grasshopper's
voice and the droning of bees.And I have listened, faint-hearted, on
haunted autumn eves,
When out of the gloaming the cairns on
the topmost hills rose stark;But the waters with mirrored stars were
thick, as the sward with leaves,
And never a sound but the gurgle of
burns that sang in the dark.Whose are the hands that peel the bell
in the vanished town?
Where is the thin high thread of muffled
music that stillsHeart's grief? What secret inviolate
dwells where the weeds drift
down?Here is the waving grass, and silence
among the hills.

CHRISTINE ORR.

The Port of Summer's End

(From To-day)

ONCE more you touch at Summer's
End, Old Earth,
That ancient, gaily decorated port
Whose stores of bunting hold of every
sortTo give you friendly send-off, and mock
mirth:Bejewelled spider-webs chain you in
dock;
Your decks are scarlet with geraniums
strewn;Your portholes are with clematis o'er-
blown;
And all your masts are flaunting holly-
hock:Old Earth, at Summer's End,
Before again you take
Your high ethereal ways,
Heed the request we make:Fare swiftly on, nor guard
Each annual resort;
Pass Winter palaces,
And Spring's voluptuous court—Nay—make of Summer's End,
One day, perpetual port.

CHARLES GRANVILLE.

Papillons

(From To-day)

WHAT phantasm of the heart of men
So whitely and so wanly
Gibes at us?Fool!
Had your heart the warmth
That burns in the thin candle-heart
You had not lost her.White—
As one who trembles at her gold scorn—
You ask for treachery.Be red, be blood-red, brother,
And she'll not dare
To dance to other colder lips than yours!

RICHARD ALDINGTON.

To Kathleen

(From Anisles)

STILL must the poet, as of old,
In barren attic, bleak and cold,
Starve, freeze, and fashion verses to
Such things as flowers and song and you!Still as of old his being give
In Beauty's name, while she may live,
Beauty that may not die as long
As there are flowers and song and you.

EDNA ST. VINCENT MILAY.